

## 論文の英文要旨 (Abstract)

Title	The Anti-Christian Movement of China in 1920's —The Tangled Development of Enlightenment, Relief from the Fall, and Indigenous Church—
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This thesis investigates the Anti-Christian Movement of China in the 1920's. Along with the Boxer Uprising in late Imperial China, this movement has greatly attracted many scholars' interests from the viewpoint of the history of Christianity in China, and also in terms of the peculiar relationship between the state and the religion in China. However, it is not necessarily the case that previous research thus far have made the various characteristics of the movement clear. In addition, it seems that the research on this movement has great significance to the understanding of the current affairs in Modern China.

Sixty-odd years have passed since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and thirty years since the start of the Reform and Opening-up in 1976, the turning point of Contemporary China. Fundamental human rights such as freedom of religion and freedom of speech, however, are yet not fully guaranteed under the Constitution in China today. People are obliged to subordinate to the state authorities, and the universal validity of education is still not recognized sufficiently. I believe that the transition toward this direction has already begun during the period of the Anti-Christian Movement and the National Revolution in 1920s. During the period of the Anti-Christian Movement, a political line appeared, and began to insist that politics is superior to all. Consequently, even the universal values such as freedom of religion and freedom of speech have been gradually ignored, though these ideas had been introduced into China together with Christian evangelism from the West and ought to have been respected in the Republic (of China). What was left was a strong pressure that demands people to obey to the state authority and the political line. Eventually, the distorted political culture prevailed and has been established, so that everything including religion and education has been subordinated to the state and political line.

Therefore, the Anti-Christian Movement will be considered in the long history from

the late Qing dynasty to the present day in this thesis. Through analysis and positivistic inspection of historical materials, two aspects of the movement will be investigated. First, in the international environments surrounding China, how did progressive intellectuals and young students think about religion or the "freedom of religion"? How did they come to lose religious tolerance, and ignore the universal values such as "freedom of religion", "universality of education"? How did they become a student of the idea of "political devotion"? This thesis will examine if there was no opportunity to correct the choice of course in this process from a historical perspective, taking the political, cultural and ideological aspects of this movement into account. Secondly, Chinese Christians being under the influence of the New Cultural Movement (Renaissance) and Anti-Christian Movements, urgently begun to attempt to remove the western colors from their Christianity, that is to say "the indigenization (本色化)" of Chinese church, and tried to adapt to the situation of China in rapid change. Church schools also gradually adjusted themselves to the needs of the Chinese people and changed their status in Chinese society, because they desired to continue their educational enterprise in it. Their efforts needs to be regarded, certainly there was a possibility that they could adapt themselves. We will look at these aspects, focusing on Chinese Christians' attitude and correspondence toward the Anti-Christian Movement, and would like to objectively evaluate the efforts of trying to adapt.

In Chapter 1, we will look at the opposition movement against the nationalization of "Teachings of Confucius (Confucianism)", which was occurred in the first year of the Republic of China, and also look at the dispute about the religious problem provoked by this incident. Examining the religious problems in this dispute, I want to clarify the Chinese intellectuals' attitude toward the religion, especially toward the Christianity in the early years of Republic of China (until to 1921). After the establishment of the Republic of China, the right of "freedom of religion" was filled in an article of the "Temporary Constitution (臨時約法)" of R.C, the freedom to believe in various religions including Christianity came to be guaranteed by the law. But soon after it was challenged by the movement of Nationalization of Confucianism promoted by the Confucian Association, which leader was Kang Youwei (康有為). Eventually, Confucianism Nationalization Movement (CNM, 孔教国教化運動) failed to be regarded

as a restoration movement, such as the Empire revival movement by Yuan Shikai (袁世凱), or the reinstatement of the Qing Emperor by Zhang Xun (張勳). The fame of "Confucianism" fell down, and the "freedom of religion" was further solidified in the Constitution. The CNM and its opposition movement urged the westernized new intellectuals to reconsider the necessity of religion, and they fervently began to talk about the religion with the criteria of science and reason, which were the slogan of the Renaissance. Discussion about the religion issues was raised among the members of "The Young China Association" against the background of this. In this chapter we will explain how the whole process went, and carefully reading the controversial texts, we will research the Chinese intellectuals' attitude toward the religion at that time, especially their attitude to Christianity. Some different religious attitudes coexisted among them. In this respect we could say that Chinese intellectuals at the time were relatively tolerant toward the religion.

In Chapter 2, we examine the "Anti-Christian Movement" in 1922. After the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the development of Christianity in China was increasingly fast. By the 1910s, the number of believers and the power of churches have achieved remarkable development, so it was called "golden ten years". Everything was going well with church, but the future of which was interrupted by the Anti-Christian Movement in 1922. A direct trigger of this movement was the opposition to the holding a conference of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in Beijing Tsinghua school (清華學校). Therefore at first we will concentrate our attention on the conference of WSCF, and then examine the reason why it became the cause of this movement. Next, we will consider the assertion of "Anti-Christian Student Federation" in Shanghai, the founder of this movement, and the opinion of "Anti-Religion Federation" in Beijing, which was organized in response to the calling of Shanghai, and we also will take a close look at the development in some districts by giving examples of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong province. Then, we will examine the attitude of Chinese Christians and some intellectuals toward the movement. Chinese Christian intellectuals had made every effort to hold the conference of WSCF, and believed it was useful for China to improve its image in the world. For them, the outbreak of opposition movement must have been an incident that they had never dreamed of. Therefore, various reactions occurred from

the Christian side, and some intellectuals who had participated in the Renaissance (新文化運動), literary scholar Zhou Zuoren (周作人) and his four colleagues, also published their opinion "The declaration of our insistence about the religious freedom" and expressed their anxiety about the movement. Lastly, we will examine the relationship between Chinese communist groups and this movement. It is still a question whether they were an "instigator" or not. We will objectively reconstruct the figure of the movement in 1922 with aim at revealing its characters.

In Chapter 3, main object of study is the Chinese people's attempt to recover the educational rights which foreign church schools had held as an extraterritorial right. The Anti-Christian Movement began to be resumed in 1924 under the stimulation of this recovering movement and it had continued until 1927. We will consider the movement of 1924 - 1927. Firstly, we examine why the Anti-Christian Movement in this period caused over Christian education. We will take a look at the background, mainly around the domestic situation of China and the inside situation of Chinese churches. Secondly, we will carefully examine the incident of student strike in the Anglian Trinity College (聖·三一學校), a college in Guangzhou (廣州), because this incident triggered the Recovering Movement of Educational Rights (RMER) of church schools. I expect to reconstruct the historical process of it, from the beginning of student strike and outbreak of RMER of church schools to the reopening of Anti-Christian Movement by the reorganized "Anti-Christian Federation". The Recovery Movement of Educational Rights (RMER) of the church school was not a government-led one, but was propelled by educators and members of each political party. As a result it affected the enactment of the educational policies of the state and led to the regulation of church school. In other words, it was accomplished by the way of "from the bottom to the top." So, when we began to consider this movement, at first, we decided to divide it into two parts, movement by the educators and the movement by the political parties (Chinese Youth Party, Chinese Kuomintang, Communist Party of China), and analyzed their attitudes toward the movement and their specific policies for the educational rights. Therefore, we will be able to objectively evaluate the role performed by each political party in this movement. The RMER of the church school was a part of RMER in China, which was also a part of Recovering Concession

Movement (included railroads and settlements) in China. So RMER of church school in mainland was the same as the movement in attached lands of Japanese South Manchurian Railroad and of Russian Middle Eastern Railroad, where people and local government have tried to recover the rights of education either. These movements were combined one another and were pushed forward at the same period. Previous studies have been mostly focusing on the rights problem of church school, and have not paid attention to the rights of Japan and USSR in the attached lands of railroad. Therefore, in this chapter, I will introduce the movement in the attached lands of Japan and USSR in Manchuria. If we know the result of these cases, we can comparatively appreciate the results and the controversial problems of the church school case. Afterward, we will be able to objectively evaluate the Anti-Christian Movement in this stage, and also to understand the problems which has been left behind. That is the purpose of this chapter.

In Chapter 4, we will focus on the Chinese Church's "Indigenization Movement", which was a response to the Anti-Christian Movement in 1920's. The Anti-Christian Movement in 1920's gave a great shock to the Chinese church. Indigenization of Chinese church—at that time Chinese Christian intellectuals preferred to use the word "localization (本色化)" and the Registration of church schools to the government were the response to the movement from the side of Chinese church. First, we will take a look at the attitude of Chinese church toward the condemnation given to them in the Anti-Christian Movement (1924 – 1927) in the first section. Their attitude toward the condemnation became exceedingly complex, because after the "May 30 Incident" and "July 23 Incident (沙基事件)" of 1925, Chinese nationalism has been increasing day by day. Chinese Christians began to be caught in a double bind, choosing being a Chinese and being a Christian. Then, we will examine the trend of the Indigenization of Chinese church in each era of before and after 1920 with looking at the efforts of Chinese Christians. When we talk about the Indigenization of Chinese church, we must pay attention to the efforts of Chinese church. Although the Anti-Christian Movement has correctly forced them to change themselves forward the indigenous church (本色教会), but it was also the result of long-standing wish and dream of Chinese church. Finally, we will take up two cases of "Indigenization Church". One is "Church of Christ in

China", and another is "Christian Ashram" or "Local Church", and we try to consider about the possibility of the "indigenization" of Chinese church. When we saw the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920's in terms of politics, it could be seen as the first opposition movement based on a political purpose. It also can be seen as a symptom for the oppression of religions after 1949 by the authority of the People's Republic of China. I think it is not too much to say that the Chinese church's response to the movement at this time and after has nearly decided the afterward fate of themselves. Of course, as it is commonly known, the fate of Chinese church has been dependent only upon the political decision of the regent person in CCP.

In the above-mentioned four chapters, we have examined these facts as below. To what extent the conflict between "Enlightenment" and the sense of "Relief from the fall" in the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s had let the Chinese people's senses about the universal values as the "freedom of religion" derived from the west change, or how their tolerance to the different religions change? How the Chinese church dealt with these changes? We have objectively evaluated the attitude and response of either side, Anti-Christian people and the Chinese church, and then we have considered the historical characteristics of the Anti-Christian Movement of 1920's and have pointed out several problems we ought to reflect upon.